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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: EG, IS, PINR

SUBJECT: INTSUM 615 - JULY 27, 1978

LONDON FOR KINSOLVING PARIS FOR NICHOLAS MURPHY OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

WARNING NOTICE SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

- 1. LEBANON. PRESSURES AND TENSIONS SEEM ONCE AGAIN TO BE BUILDING TO THE POINT OF A MAJOR CONFRONTATION. ON WEDNESDAY PRESIDENT SARKIS HELD URGENT TALKS WITH HIS CABINET TO DISCUSS WAYS OF DEFUSING THE SITUATION. YESTERDAY, SPORADIC SNIPING AND SCATTERED SHELLING CONTINUED IN THE HADETH SUBURB OF BEIRUT. EARLIER, THERE WAS A HALT IN THE SYRIAN BOMBARDMENT OF THE AREA, WHICH WAS DESCRIBED AS THE HEAVIEST OF THE CURRENT ROUND OF FIGHTING.
- 2. THERE ARE OMINOUS SIGNS THAT THE HADETH SITUATION MAY WORSEN AND POSSIBLY ACT AS A FLASHPOINT FOR MORE VIOLENT AND GENERALIZED FIGHTING. DESPITE SEEMING RESTRAINT BY BOTH SIDES TO CONTAIN THE CLASHES, FIGHTING APPARENTLY SPREAD CLOSER TO THE HEART OF EAST BEIRUT. SYRIAN SECRET

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CASUALTIES WERE SAID TO BE HIGH, A FACTOR WHICH PUTS PRESSURE ON THE SYRIANS TO RETALIATE STRONGLY. ALSO, THE CHRISTIANS CLAIM THAT THE SYRIANS HAVE EFFECTIVELY SURROUNDED THE AREA. AN EMBASSY DAMASCUS CONTACT REPORTED THAT SYRIAN COMMAND AND CONTROL OF ITS UNITS IN THE FIGHTING IS QUESTIONABLE.

- 3. THE CHRISTIANS, ACCORDING TO SOURCES OF OUR DEFENSE ATTACHE, HAVE BROUGHT UP MORTARS AND ARTILLERY TO SUPPORT THEIR MILITIAS IN HADETH AND NOW INTEND TO USE THESE HEAVY WEAPONS IN RESPONSE TO SYRIAN USE OF THE SAME KIND OF ARMS. A FEW CHRISTIANS IN THE LEBANESE ARMY HAVE BEGUN TO DESERT TO JOIN THE MILITIAS, AND MORE ARE THREATENING TO DO SO.
- 4. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON SYRIA'S VIEWS OF WHAT ACTION IS NECESSARY TO PURSUE ITS POLICY GOALS IN LEBANON. ASSAD HAS OFTEN EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION OVER THE VOLATILITY OF THE LEBANESE SCENE, SYRIA'S INABILITY TO RESTORE STABILITY, AND THE LACK OF LEBANESE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, ESPECIALLY SARKIS' WEAKNESS.
- 5. ASSAD SEEMS UNDECIDED AS TO WHETHER SYRIAN ADF UNITS

SHOULD REACT STRONGLY TO THE CONTINUED PROVOCATIONS. WE NOTE THAT, DURING THE CIVIL WAR, THE SYRIANS SLOWLY SUBDUED THE PALESTINIANS WITH A PATTERN OF "FIGHT-THEN-NEGOTIATE," USING PERIODIC MILITARY ATTACKS TO UNDERSCORE THEIR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO REIN IN THE PLO. THE RECURRENT CYCLE OF RETALIATION DIRECTED AT THE CHRISTIANS, FOLLOWED BY ROUNDS OF TALKS WITH CHRISTIAN AND OTHER LEADERS, SEEMS TO FIT THIS PATTERN.

6. FOLLOWING ANOTHER FAMILIAR STRATEGY, THE SYRIANS ARE ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE CHRISITIANS, AS THEY DID THE PALESTINIANS DURING THE CIVIL WAR. THEY HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT TO FRANJIYAH'S ELEMENTS IN THE NORTH. DAMASCUS APPEARS TO HOPE SUFFICIENT PRESSURE CAN BE PUT SECRET

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ON THE PHALANGE AND SHAMOUNISTS TO MAKE THEM BEND TO THE SYRIAN WILL. THE SYRIANS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO BOMBARD THE CHRISTIANS PERIODICALLY IN THE BEIRUT AREA. MOREOVER, DAMASCUS HAS CONTINUED ITS EFFORTS TO FOSTER A POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THOSE FACTIONS WHO DISLIKE THE PHALANGE AND THE SHAMOUNISTS, AND THE SYRIANS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PORTRAY THE RIGHTIST MILITIAS AS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVOKING SYRIAN ACTIONS, SO AS TO TURN THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AGAINST THE MILITIAS.

- 7. IT IS QUESTIONABLE, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS SYRIAN APPROACH WILL BEAR FRUIT. THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE ANY EVIDENCE OF ANTI-MILITIA SENTIMENT (EXCEPT IN FRANJIYAH'S AREA). DORY SHAMOUN ASSERTED THAT THE SYRIANS HAVE, IN FACT, BOLSTERED CIVILIAN BACKING FOR THE RIGHTIST MILITIAS AND PROMPTED GREATER ANTI-SYRIAN FEELINGS. MOREOVER, THEIR SUPPORT FOR FRANJIYAH MAY WELL PROVE TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, IMPACTING NEGATIVELY ON HIS STATURE AND WEAKENING HIS POSITION AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.
- 8. IN SOUTH LEBANON DEVELOPMENTS, MEANWHILE, UNIFIL COMMANDER GENERAL ERSKINE STATED IN PRIVATE RECENTLY THAT THE RIGHTIST MILITIAS, RATHER THAN THE PALESTINIANS, POSED THE MAIN OPERATIONAL PROBLEM TO UNIFIL. HE ESTIMATED THAT 150-180 ARMED PALESTINIANS WERE WITHIN UNIFIL'S AREA OF OPERATION, COMPARED WITH HIS ESTIMATE OF 4,000 RIGHTIST FIGHTERS. REGARDING UNIFIL'S ROLE, HE ASSERTED THAT UNIFIL HAD SUCCEEDED IN PREVENTING MAJOR COMBAT IN THE SOUTH, BUT HAD FAILED TO HELP THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT RESTORE ITS SOVEREIGNTY THERE. TO ACCOMPLISH THE LATTER, LEBANESE ARMY UNITS WOULD HAVE TO BE SENT TO THE SOUTH. (SECRET)
- 9. SOUTH YEMEN. THE NEWLY FORMED REGIME IN ADEN, SECRET

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ADMINISTERED BY A COMMAND COUNCIL UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER ALI NASSIR, BUT IN REALITY CONTROLLED BY NATIONAL FRONT PARTY CHAIRMAN ABD AL-FATTAH ISMAIL, IS SAID TO BE HAVING PROBLEMS CONSOLIDATING ITS POWER. IT IS DIFFICULT, HOWEVER, TO ASSESS THE DEGREE OF DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IN SOUTH YEMEN.

10. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN SANA BELIEVE THAT THE ADEN GOVERNMENT HAS VIRTUALLY LOST CONTROL OF THE HINTER-LAND, EXCEPT WHERE FOREIGN TROOPS ARE DEPLOYED, AND THAT PDRY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND TROOPS FROM THE GOVERNORATES BORDERING YEMEN HAVE FLED NORTH. ADDITIONALLY, TRIBAL SHAYKHS FROM THE MOUNTAINOUS BORDER REGIONS, WHICH REMAIN LOYAL TO THE FORMER PRESIDENT, ARE REPORTEDLY BARRING ENTRY OF SOUTH YEMEN FORCES INTO THE AREA. SUCH NORTH YEMENI REPORTING IS NO DOUBT BIASED AND EXAGGERATED, AND ALTHOUGH CUBAN, SOVIET, AND EAST GERMAN ADVISERS ARE IN SOUTH YEMEN, WE ARE SKEPTICAL OF REPORTS ALLEGING A LARGER FOREIGN MILITARY ROLE.

11. NEVERTHELESS, EVIDENCE DOES INDICATE LARGE-SCALE DEFECTIONS, INCLUDING SOME 700 SOUTH YEMENIS WHO HAVE REPORTEDLY DEFECTED TO THE NORTH. IN ADDITION, DEPOSED PRESIDENT ALI IS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD A POWER BASE IN THE

ARMY, AND HE WAS GENUINELY ADMIRED AND SUPPORTED BY SOUTH YEMENI CITIZENS IN AREAS OUTSIDE ADEN.

12. IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POWER BASE AND EXERT ADDITIONAL INFLUENCE OVER THE GOVERNMENT, ISMAIL CONFIRMED THE APPOINTMENT OF ALI NASSIR AS HEAD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL, AND HE NAMED MINISTER OF DEFENSE ALI ANTAR TO FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE COUNCIL. ALI NASSIR, LIKE THE FORMER PRESIDENT, IS POPULAR WITH THE PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF ADEN, AND HIS APPOINTMENT WILL QUITE LIKELY HELP THE LESS POPULAR ISMAIL TO SHORE UP POPULAR BACKING SECRET

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IN THE RURAL AREAS. THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE PURGING HIGH-LEVEL SUPPORTERS OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT AND WILL MOST LIKELY ATTEMPT TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE GOVERNORATES. IN ANY CASE, CONSOLIDATION OF POWER WILL NOT OCCUR QUICKLY, AND THE STABILITY AND LONGEVITY OF THE ISMAIL REGIME REMAINS IN QUESTION. (SECRET/NOFORN) CHRISTOPHER

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